

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104910

LIMDIS TOSEC 830

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, MOSCOW, TAIPEI. TOKYO,  
HONG KONG, CINCPAC, MAY 20, FROM PEKING RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 823

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, TW

SUBJECT: GOVERNORS' DELEGATION MEETING WITH CH'IAO KUAN-HUA

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE MEETING ARRANGED FOR THE GOVERNORS  
DEL IN PEKING TOOK PLACE MAY 17 WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER  
CH'IAO KUAN-HUA. ALTHOUGH THE HOUR AND A HALF SESSION BROKE NO  
NEW GROUND, CH'IAO LAID A NOTABLE EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO SETTLE  
THE TAIWAN QUESTION BEFORE THERE CAN BE ANY MEANINGFUL FURTHER  
PROGRESS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE OBSERVED THAT THERE WOULD UN-  
AVOIDABLY BE LIMITS ON TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE MEANTIME.

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1. IN A MEETING WHICH STARTED VERY SLOWLY AND ONLY MOVED

TO ACTIVE CONVERSATION AFTER CH'IAO EXHORTED "FREE CONVERSATION" SEVERAL TIMES, THE CHINESE VICE FONMIN FOCUSED HIS REMARKS ON US-PRC BILATERAL RELATIONS ON THE UNSETTLED TAIWAN QUESTION. RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ON HIS VIEW OF PROGRESS IN NORMALIZATION, HE SAID THAT "ON THE WHOLE" PROGRESS IN RELATIONS OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS HAS BEEN GOOD, BUT SAID CRUCIAL PROBLEM REMAINING IS THAT OF TAIWAN. CH'IAO POINTEDLY ASKED GOVERNOR EVANS OF WASHINGTON IF THE "KUOMINTANG" DID NOT HAVE A CONSULATE IN HIS STATE.

2. CH'IAO SAID THAT WHILE PRC BELIEVES IT WOULD BE GOOD IF NORMALIZATION COULD BE ACHIEVED AT ANY EARLY DATE, PEKING IS NOT VERY ANXIOUS ABOUT IT BECAUSE IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT U.S. HAS TO RETAIN RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. (HE DID NOT AMPLIFY THIS POINT.) HE SAID HIS MAIN POINT WAS THAT UNTIL NORMALIZATION (I.E. FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS) IS ACHIEVED ONE "CANNOT AVOID" RESTRICTIONS ON THE LEVELS OF TRADE AND EXCHANGES. CH'IAO AGREED WITH A SUGGESTION BY THE DELEGATION THAT THE ESSENCE OF A SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION LAY IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, BUT HE SAID THE PRESENT QUESTION FROM A GOVERNMENTAL POINT OF VIEW IS THAT NEITHER SIDE SHOULD CONTRAVENE THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE COMMITMENTS.

3. THE DELEGATION PROBED IN VARIOUS WAYS TO SEE IF THERE WAS NOT SOME POSSIBILITY-- AND SOME MERIT-- IN FURTHERING THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS EVEN BEFORE THE TAIWAN QUESTION IS SETTLED. ONE GOVERNOR ASKED IF THERE REALLY IS AN ANSWER TO THE TAIWAN QUESTION. ANOTHER ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF SETTLING "INTERNAL" ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM BY DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN PEKING AND TAIPEI.

4. CH'IAO ACKNOWLEDGED VALUE OF PRESENT CONTACTS TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, AND MADE MENTION OF USEFULNESS OF HAVING LIAISON OFFICES IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS TO FACILITATE COMMUNICATION. BUT HE SAID THERE SIMPLY CANNOT BE A CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP IN ABSENCE OF SETTLEMENT OF TAIWAN QUESTION BETWEEN US. HE SAID THERE IS AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION (AT LEAST TO THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS) AND CITED JAPANESE MODEL. WITHOUT DRAWING A SPECIFIC PARALLEL WITH POSSIBILITIES FOR THE U.S., CH'IAO NOTED THAT JAPAN CONTINUES TO HAVE TRADE AND "REGIONAL" CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AS "AN AREA OF CHINA".

5. AS TO QUESTION ABOUT SETTLEMENT OF INTERNAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM THROUGH DIRECTS CONTACTS WITH TAIPEI, CH'IAO STATED THERE WAS A THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY OF THIS BUT HE DID "NOT BELIEVE IN IT".

6. CH'IAO VACILLATED SOMEWHAT ON THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL

EXCHANGES. ON THE ONE HAND HE SAID THEY WERE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE AND COULD NOT ALTER THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP; ONLY SETTLEMENT OF TAIWAN QUESTION COULD DO THAT. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID THAT PEKING HOPED THAT PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS WOULD PROMOTE AND ACCELERATE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

7. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ABOUT CHINA'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, CH'IAO COMPLETELY AVOID ANY COMMENT OF THE INDOCHINA SITUATION AND AVOIDED ANY DISCUSSION OF U.S. ROLE EXCEPT TO OBSERVE THAT CHINA'S BAD IMAGE IN THE REGION UNTIL RECENTLY WAS PARTIALLY THE FAULT OF THE U.S. FOR PORTRAYING THE PRC AS A "MANEATING MONSTER". HIS EMPHASIS INSTEAD WAS ON THE NEW REALIZATION BY THE COUNTRIES OF REGION THAT IT IS NOT CHINA WHICH IS THE EXTERNAL THREAT, BUT ANOTHER COUNTRY. WHEN THE DELEGATION MISSED HIS POINT AS ELLIPTICALLY EXPRESSED, AND THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE REFERRING TO THE U.S., HE WENT ON TO NAME THE SOVIET UNION.

8. IN RESPONSE TO OTHER QUESTIONS, CH'IAO ALSO SOUNDED A NOTE OF CAUTION ABOUT SOVIET AMBITIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION. IN ADDITION HE EXPLICITLY LAID BUILD-UP OF SOVIET FORCES ALONG THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER AND IN MONGOLIA AT BREZHNEV'S DOOR, NOTING THAT IT BEGAN ONLY AFTER KHRUSHCHEV WAS OUSTED. BUT HE SAID MOSCOW IS NOT REPEAT NOT A FORMIDABLE MENANCE AND THAT ITS AMBITION OUTSTRIPPED ITS CAPABILITY.

9. ON OTHER FOREIGN POLICY POINTS, THE VICE MINISTER SAID THAT CHINA CONSIDERED THE MIDDLE EAST AS PART OF THE EUROPEAN PROBLEM AND THAT BOTH AREAS WERE THE MOST TURBULANT TODAY, BUT OTHER WISE REFRAINED FROM DETAILED COMMENT ON EITHER AREA. NO REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED TO JAPAN OTHER THAN IN THE CONTEXT OF SOLVING THE TAIWAN QUESTION. HE SAID HE FELT THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT AN IDEAL ORGANIZATION BUT SHOULD NOT BE DISMISSED AS UTTERLY CONFIDENTIAL

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USELESS. HE SAID IT PLAYS A GOOD ROLE IN FACILITATING EXPRESSION OF VIEWS. BUT HE SAID THAT THERE ARE MANY IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED. WHEN ASKED IF CHINA WOULD PREFER TO DO AWAY WITH THE VETO POWER, CH'IAO DODGED THE QUESTION AND SIMPLY SAID THAT MANY NATIONS HAVE PROPOSED CHARTER REVISION WHICH IS AN EXPRESSION OF DISSATISFACTION ON THEIR PART, BUT HE ADDED THAT THIS IS A FAIRLY COMPLICATED MATTER AND CALLS FOR A "PRUDENT APPROACH".

10. ASKED IF HE HAD ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE U.S., CH'IAO REMAKRED ON THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE AMERICAN PRESS WITH WATERGATE AND SAID THAT PEKING IS NOT RPT NOT SO INTERESTED IN THAT PROBLEM. HE WONDERED ALOUD WHEN THE WATER FROM WATERGATE WOULD STOP FLOWING.

11. IN RESPONSE TO GENERAL EXPRESSION OF HOPE BY THE

DEL THAT HE COULD GO TO THE U.S. AND TRAVEL AROUND, CH'IAO SAID HE HAD NEVER BEEN TO THE U.S., HE HAD ONLY "STAYED IN NEW YORK", AND THAT IN BSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IT WOULD BE "INCONVENIENT" FOR HIM TO TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON, D.C. OR TO OTHER STATES. BUT HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SOMEDAY HE COULD TRAVEL AROUND TO GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. AS HE HOPED THE DEL WOULD GET OF CHINA, AND "THAT IS WHY WE DISCUSS NORMALIZATION".

12. CH'IAO STRESSED ON THREE OCCASIONS, INCLUDING AT THE VERY END, THAT THIS CONVERSATION COULD BE AS OPEN AS IT HAD BEEN ONLY BECAUSE IT WAS PRIVATE AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT GET INTO THE PRESS. OTHERWISE, HE SAID IT WOULD "UNNECESSARILY LEAD TO SOME TROUBLE". HE EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION THAT THERE WAS NO PRESS ACCOMPANYING THE GROUP.

13. NOTE: IN DISCUSSION WITH USLO OFFICERS AT A RECEPTION THAT AFTERNOON GIVEN BY MR. BRUCE IN HONOR OF THE DELEGATION, SHEN JO-YUN, WHO ACTED AS INTERPRETER AT THE MEETING, SAID SHE THOUGHT THE ATMOSPHERE HAD STILL BEEN TOO CONSTRAINED DESPITE CH'IAO'S CALL FOR FREE DISCUSSION. SHE ALSO PROCEEDED TO TELL ONE USLO OFFICER IN SOME DETAIL ABOUT THE VICE MINISTER'S REMARKS ABOUT TAIWAN.

14. COMMENT: MOST OF CH'IAO'S COMMENTS ABOUT TAIWAN FLOWED NATURALLY FROM THE QUESTIONS ASKED. BUT IT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTABLE THAT HE DID NOT SKIRT THE TAIWAN QUESTION AS HE HAD WITH PREVIOUS AMERICAN DELEGATIONS. NONETHELESS HIS REMARKS WERE NOT RPT NOT STRIDENT AND DID NOT STRAY FROM WELL-DEFINED PRC POSITIONS. BRUCE UNQUOTE. RUSH

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